

From 1830 to 1846, by sea, house returns 1,354,305
Add fifty per cent. for persons arriving by land 67,150
From 1846 to 1847, by custom-house returns 223,182
From 1847 to 1848, fifteen months to Sept. 22, 226,257
From 1848, 15 months to Jan. 1, 1850, 256,208
Add twenty-five per cent. for passengers arriving by land 71,224
Number of emigrants last year, from 170 to 1530 71,224

From Jan. 1, 1850, to Sept. 20, 1850, nine months 29,292
From Sept. 20, 1850, to Jan. 1, 1851, fifteen months 47,467
From Jan. 1, 1851, to Jan. 1, 1852, one year 50,512
From Jan. 1, 1852, to Jan. 1, 1853, one year 50,512
From Jan. 1, 1853, to Jan. 1, 1854, one year 50,512
Add for emigrants arriving by land, five per cent. 47,467
Total in five years—1850 to 1854 187,507

Average each year 37,501
Total in eight years—from 1850 365,729

This is without estimate of increase. The increase of arrivals in 1854 over those of 1850, was about forty-two per cent and nearly eight per cent, over the foreign arrivals of 1853. Here are the figures:

1854.	First quarter	45,776
	Second quarter	46,160
	Third quarter	45,472
	Fourth quarter, estimated as corresponding quarter of 1853	45,472
	Total	182,800

Deduct for citizens of the United States, as last year 32,900

Total foreign arrivals for 1854 149,899

Increase in one year 29,292

A large pending increase of emigration for the next three years would make the aggregate for eight years, from 1850, larger than the entire emigration to this country for sixty years, from 1789 to 1839. And has this emigration reached its height? When can we say that?

Look at the condition of Eastern and Western Europe, of Asia, of South America, and the like.

The earth shudders under the heavy load of more than five millions of men, and every State is subject to the general scourge of actual or impending war. Who are to bear its accumulating burden? England must draw upon her resources, present or future, at the rate of a hundred millions sterling per annum, and other States will be weighed down by every species of contribution, assessment, and excise. And it is for a war of indefinite duration, unless terminated by the victory of peace, that will annihilate, right fully, independent States, and divide Europe among its great sovereigns. What are the people of the Old World to do? They have but one course. They must bear the onerous and increasing burdens of war, or sacrifice the modest and brave the dangers of battle. There is no alternative. In Great Britain, France, Turkey, or Russia—indeed, Prussia, or Germany—there is no alternative.

But emigration presents an avenue of escape from the evils of imminent impending war. Where shall they go? To Canada? To unstable Mexico? To South America? They will come to the United States. They and a quarter million of foreign-born people, and their descendants here, have so many heart strings out to draw them back to the New World. Our country begins to be known abroad. The most favorable account of this country, lately published, was written by a gentleman, who ten years since, asked an American how it was possible he, who had seen Europe, could live in America.

They begin to feel that America is the only land where man can reach their true standard of greatness. Our institutions are debased by the light of every campfire and every hearthstone on the face of the earth. The excited imaginations of distressed and heart-broken men, invest that liberty we actually enjoy, with the attributes of an almost fabulous and impossible prosperity and freedom. When one State is exterminated another is opened. How is it possible that emigration can have reached its height? Who can doubt its increase; or, that it may even, in our time, be doubled?

Look to the East, to China, India, Japan, with their six hundred millions of people, often without employment or subsistence. They have already an idea of the institution and capacity of the American continent. The Chinese, whose empire has been limited to Japan, now seek the United States and the islands of our Pacific coast. Thirty or forty thousand are in California; and when we are, by steamer, within ten or twelve days sail of their crowded empire, who can prophesy the extent of this new and unanticipated emigration? Who can check its enormous growth? Not the States; that has been decided by the Supreme Judicial tribunal—What power is equal to that duty?

Not long since, I had the pleasure of reading a letter upon this subject, written by a most intelligent Chinese, who was educating himself in this country. I think in New Jersey. He says, that when the people of the Chinese empire understand that there are for them, among us, opportunities greatly to improve their condition, they will pour in upon us, not by thousands, but in swarms like the locusts of ancient days; that there is no power at home, none here, to stay them from our shores; if they but understand the nature of our institutions, and the resources of our country. Their empire is now losing both rebellion and civil war. In times of peace, the Government has been unable to enforce its decrees against extraterritorialism, when Japan alone, held out its submissions to them; and now, when for the first time in a century, they are subjected to the uncompromising horrors of civil war, clashing up the ordinary channels of trade and industrial employment, in their crowded empire, it will be still more impossible. Shall we fold up with the bayonet? No, sir, if they come we shall admit them. There may be legitimate uses for them, in the economy of God's Providence. But, have they a Christian character adapted to the institutions of this country? I ask the gentleman from Mississippi, whether we shall give to them the rights of citizenship, at the close of their first five years' residence? Or, are we to have an extension of judicial decrees, under color of judicial fictions, that, in the absence of any legislation, shall determine what affinities of race, and color, and blood, make it impossible for men ever to participate in the powers of Government?

Mr. Chairman, how does our present con-

dition compare with the period of the Constitution to which we are referred, when ten years' emigration gave us only fifty thousand persons?

And what said the framers of the constitution even then? Did they declare that foreigners had a right to participate in the affairs of government? Not at all! They made the Constitution prescriptive. They declared, by a unanimous vote of the convention, that, after a brief period, no man but a native-born citizen should be eligible to the office of President. They declared that nine years of citizenship should be required to make a man eligible to the Senate and seven years to the House of Representatives. They took the States the power to confer citizenship, which the States then exercised. There is nothing to show that they entertained the idea advanced here, that foreigners had a right to participate in the highest prerogatives of government. It was made a question of expediency. It was a privilege con-

ferred to every voter General Scott received, and to General Scott every vote General Piero received. In the election of 1818, less than eighty thousand votes would have changed the vote of every State of the Union, except that of New York, giving to General Taylor the votes received by General Cass, and the vote of General Cass to General Taylor. And a change of less than twenty-five thousand votes in four States would have elected General Cass, instead of General Taylor. If, in the enthusiasm and heat of American politics, there is any party that is cool enough, as is suspected and charged, to deliberately to project and execute a plan that shall secure an absolute balance of power between the great parties, the remedy the only remedy, must be for the people to abstain from division upon ordinary questions, as against that party. If it be true that any considerable portion of the foreign vote has been directed with a view to secure this end, there are not votes enough out of two and a quarter millions of resident foreigners to effect it, were the statutes of naturalization repealed. There is no remedy but that which has been described to us, and that, I understand, to be a chief object of the party whose members are called "Know-Nothings." While it denies no rights to a minority, it demands the rights of a majority. While it denies to foreigners nothing that belongs to them, it claims and assumes the prerogative of Government, which is, here, the unquestioned right of AMERICANS, according to no person's rights of conscience, or the freedom of religious opinion, it establishes and perpetuates both, in placing the Government upon the basis contemplated by this Constitution, by the fathers of this Republic.

It is useless to speculate upon the extent to which this power may be carried, should such a policy be adopted. But I may mention an incident within my own experience which illustrates a possible limit. In 1848, I supported the Democratic candidate for the Presidency; and, being earnest in the canvass, I was sanguine of success. I was fortunate with one who likewise advocated the claims of General Cass, but who always said he would be defeated. It was a tight battle, as every one knows; and many very wise men knew its results until after the election. Some months after, my friend mentioned to me his prediction. "How was it?" said I, "that, while you labored for Cass you were certain of his defeat?" Said he, "I am Jesuit; and our instructions were to shout for Cass but to vote for Taylor." I ask no gentleman to take this statement upon the credit of any man. I repeat it, as I find it in the record of a soldier of fortune, who was a prominent member of the Know-Nothings; and it falls from the lips of a steadfast friend of adopted citizens, who knew the services of foreigners in the Revolution, at a time when this vast, uninvited portion of the country demanded a pioneer population, and the animal congregation from abroad did not exceed five thousand persons. And the recommendation to the appointment of foreigners to offices by the people, and did not refer to them as even possible recipients of Executive patronage. There is a distinction to be noted, Mr. Gray, of Massachusetts—attendant Vice-President during the administration of Mr. Madison—so that he wished, on future, eligibility might be confined to natives. He was not singular, "he said, "in his views. A great many of the most eminent men resented in like manner."—Similar views were expressed by leading men of the Federal and Republican parties. They placed the new Constitution upon the ground that, when emigrants ceased to be foreigners, they were entitled to become American citizens.

How is it with the foreign population of our day? The gentleman from Mississippi alluded to the flattery of foreign voters by General Scott, in the campaign of 1852.—

But how was it with the Democratic party in that canvass; where were the different parties of all the States and how will it be with all the parties in the contest of 1856?—

May not they too go down on their knees to those who may hold the balance of power in that contest?

And a word to this balance of power. Has it occurred to gentlemen how slight a power is required to determine the result of any future election? Has it occurred to us how slight a power, skilfully directed, might have changed the result of any past election? And who shall deny to that party that holds this power, the patronage it commands? How is it with the foreign population of our day?

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The gentleman from Mississippi suggested that this was a land of toleration—or of religious toleration. Sir, I go far beyond that. I do not agree merely to the toleration of Catholics or Protestants here. They have an absolute right. Every person is entitled to religious freedom. Toleration exists in France or in Great Britain, because, there religions are established by Government. Here there is yet no Government religion, and therefore no mere toleration. The Catholic and the Protestant have their right under our institutions. No one will be more reluctant than myself to disturb or curtail that right. I am for extending it to the professors of every faith in the largest possible degree. But the concessions of the constitution now required, and a more stringent execution of the laws existing than has been usual hitherto. Whether that term shall be twenty-one, or twelve, or ten years, I leave for others to determine.

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